443 [434] Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[438] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often
[294] they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just
to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to
have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take
445 advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers.
The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about
them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
●178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office
[206] of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants
proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages
of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We
used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and
see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

377
is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and
others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that 178
since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and
that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. 207
In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had
battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," [275]
we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, [829]
we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news
about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens
us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets [177]
run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves
are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way
to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of 312
people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local
gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard 625
on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-coun-
cil office are expressions of services from the national or local government, 205
as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or
perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities 521
are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation
around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged,
the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to
collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young
officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian [166]
border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining [423]
because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they
go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place
their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history
affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on
the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up [291]
to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man
or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this 123
American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told
that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in 574
telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," 609
someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our
village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man
adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has
a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

166 361 727 voices, questioned: "Just how would a fisherman know how to guard livestock?" The new site had been chosen because it was sheltered, near the water, and on the road. The houses had been provided free by the Ministry of Reconstruction, each being set in a plot of four hundred square meters in which a small vegetable garden was possible. As the surrounding cropland was insufficient to support all of these families, the men had to go far away in search of jobs while leaving the women and children behind.

361 727 178 In the beginning of the reconstruction period, private contractors were given the task of rebuilding the destroyed villages and in some cases put up shoddy dwellings in a location where people did not want to live. Some of these stand today between Lamia and Volos abandoned, mute testimony to the failure of projects carried out without consulting those supposed to benefit from them. But most of the postwar villages are now inhabited and contrast, because of their straight streets and their houses in a perfect line, with the older villages where the streets wander and each individual put up his house on his lot as it pleased him.

361 Location, however, is more complex than some of the peasants' explanations or the contractors' choices would imply. It usually represents over a long period of time an adjustment to the resources which people need for their livelihood. First of all, there must be water available for drinking [312] and washing. Should a spring upon which everyone depended dry up, the people of the village would move, ghosts or no ghosts, particularly if the women got tired of carrying water from some unreasonable distance. Over a period of time, also, the peasants locate their settlements as a compromise between the requirements for wood and pastures on heights above the village and the need for daily travel to their fields lying below. That is why villages are so frequently perched on a hillside instead of on the level land beneath. Of course, if the plain is large and the hills distant from land owned by the peasants, they will build a village on the plain and make long trips for their wood. Another factor affecting location in the days of Turkish rule was the villager's desire to be off the main road and thus less subject to taxation by officials and to requisition of foodstuffs by passing troops. He valued his freedom. Those old villages are now suffering from the isolation which was once a blessing. But many of the people still cling to residence in the old village in preference to separate farms because of the protection a village gives against wild animals and predatory armies, and because neighbors help each other to cultivate the earth. A further reason for the long survival of the village was its suitability to the system of large landholdings prevalent through much of Greece before the liberation from the Turks. Estate owners or managers could better control and supervise the rural workers whose houses were conveniently grouped together. Nowadays, according to those engaged in community development, better provisions for schools, roads, medical services, mail, and other

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and [363] houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby.

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room 491 of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important [521] topics of conversation.[7] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, [619] revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece.

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning [177] of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program [653] are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away.

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about 491 the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere 178 the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner."

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the
area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went
to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these
roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great
amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected
by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the
place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired
from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up
the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When
he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot
his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area
of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman
to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road
● 178 had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On
August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first
automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built
to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we
sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary,
we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one
fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary
put it this way:

> [342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too ex-
> pensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses
> with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
> [438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year.
> We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the
> merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. To-
> day we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't
> very well strap long boards to the donkeys.
>
> [484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the
> only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
> [735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had
> great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from
> house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had
> no other income earned much money working on the construction.
>
> [758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a
> donkey.

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 ● [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

> The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]
>
> In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]
>
> Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

[1] [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin
which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central
Peloponnesos:

> [231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor
> and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the
> [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most
> of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling
> ● [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.
>
> Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains.
> [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes
> in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used
> to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks
> [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From
> [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil,
> zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain
> pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space
> and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the
> slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid
> having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof]
> so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful
> pattern.
>
> 252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and
> made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands.
> [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they
> have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer
> time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year
> light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they
> have to do.
>
> 351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak
> bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from
> [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig,
> mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendicular
184 rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due,
according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock
to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder
is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house
thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base-
[231] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are
[251] stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the
upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway
is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a
wide landing.

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the moun- 342
tain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, 184
much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this [132]
region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops.
The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens
as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house
usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of
sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles:

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a de- 342
velopment which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the
cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation 178 ●
of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the [231]
granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been [251]
provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter
the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on
which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in [354]
the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of
the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room
house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was
built.

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable 342
investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building
a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation
with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the
Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave
for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and
wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she
talked.

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fel- [352]
low villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use [513]
of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was
a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into
the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico.

[p. 59]
[p. 58 is blank]

[IV]

Land as a Birthright

> Grandfather slipped his hand underneath and drew out a little bundle which had lain over his heart. 423
>
> "It is nothing. . . . A handful of earth. . . ."
>
> "A handful of earth! . . ."
>
> "Yes, a handful of earth from our fields so we can plant a root of basil in our land of exile, to remind us. . . ."
>
> Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, p. 259

A Handful of Earth

To some readers, this passage will reveal a poetic insight into the mystic attachment which not only the refugees portrayed but people in many parts of the world have for the land which is theirs, which they revere, and for which they will endure bloody encounters. To other readers, this will seem an overromanticized stereotyping of the peasant. Which reaction is more justifiable in considering the Greek villages today?

Seeking an answer to this question brought me face to face with the dramatic social changes which have been occurring in Greece, with all their marked regional differences. Facts and figures are a good starting point for trying to resolve a debated question. Certainly, in Greece today, with the population increase, good land is at a very high premium. The "handful of 423 178 ● 241

423 178 [241] earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] [181] [432] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they substitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 178 423 432 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

> 178 423 432 [186] The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism. They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave. He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.
>
> [166] [511] [578] One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.
>
> [369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511]

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
454 change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer
369 is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the
younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders,
who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

166 In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young
593 people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the
traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant
life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
463 southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper,
barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land
which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their
family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the
423 provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations
432 are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions,
that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
114 that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live
166 in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly
accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even
to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of
their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even
more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward
land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United
States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
369 In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as
in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as
to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they
prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis
their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and
heritage.[5]

THE CYCLE OF LAND OWNERSHIP (ATTICA)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

175 423 religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks.

175 423 427 These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica:

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

[311] When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops.

178 241 [235 462] The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the " woman's work " with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years.

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the
blazing sun.

LAND REFORM (THESSALY)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece,
but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illus-
trate modern Greek land reform.[13] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province:
the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece;
just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five
acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what
can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought
that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a
position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some
estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the
capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa
out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe
rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and
passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were
bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's
bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
exists for those poor villagers who need it.

[671] During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land re-
form. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet
received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the ques-
tions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in
their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law
still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although
requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church
had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little
more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private
proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord
living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain;
he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

But he was being forced to surrender even this by the provisions of the 1952 constitution which sought to put in the hands of all the remaining peasant tenants the land which they tilled. 423 [427]

It was some of this land the Thomai peasants were waiting for. Thomai was a village of refugees from near Konya, Turkey, who had settled there in 1926 and 1927. Each had been given approximately fifteen acres of land, much of it quite fertile in comparison with land elsewhere in Greece, but still not enough for their needs. [167]

Arriving in the village, the director of agriculture questioned the men, gathered in the coffeehouse, on the extent of the damage done by the rain and they agreed with him that the loss was not nearly so great as the Athens papers had stated in their morning editions. One of them was even frank enough to say, "Oh, you know how farmers are inclined to exaggerate their losses."

"But what about our pasture land?" one of the more aggressive peasants wanted to know. "We are supposed to get some from one of the Hadjilazaros estates. When will the government give it to us? We need it for our flocks."

Patiently the director explained that they would definitely receive this land but that it would take time. He said he felt the matter would be settled fairly soon since the expropriation — the most difficult part of the transaction — had already been completed. One peasant asked: "How could the owner manage to sell some of the estates to be expropriated before the government took them over? This gives the government less to distribute."

The director pointed out that in any sweeping law like the land reform there were often legal loopholes. These were being closed, but the landowner had been able to use them to his advantage. "Remember," he added, "the present government is really interested in enforcing the law and you will get your pasture land."[14]

The land hunger so vigorously expressed by these villagers in the middle of some of the best land of Greece was due partly to their social origins. Added to the conservatism, the moderate pessimism, and longing for land common to most rural people, there was another factor: when they had lived in Turkey, deep in the interior, they had had all the land they could use. Turkey is less densely populated than Greece. Some Thomai peasants even longed to return to Turkey, so much had they idealized the earlier years before their forced exodus. Yet they admitted that in the 1920s in Turkey they had used primitive methods, plowing with a wooden rather than a steel plowshare; many had lived in caves. Significantly, they admitted also that in this part of Greece they had found agriculture more advanced, but it was an admission of a fact to which they could not adjust. Compared to the more flexible peasants of the refugee villages of Northern Greece, these Thomai villagers were reluctant to change; their nostalgia for the 178 423

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything
new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the
café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"
[177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and
for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are
[825] back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were
only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being antireligious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly:
"Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the
[685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary
to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the
night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope
that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."
[521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do,
with at least the appearance of good humor.

Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
423 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant be-
241 came about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14]
One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings
is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the
[311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given
year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they 311
fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands 241
by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one
fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many [423]
of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years. [427]

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing [664]
purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because [427]
of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for [312]
dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures 433
for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 439
88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, 241
apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one
of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I 423
have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which 241
many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradi- 178
tion, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

423 villagers, then conservatism and lack of progress will handicap the peasant; if, on the other hand, the man-land bond becomes too abruptly broken, a
241 rural proletariat will come into existence and will make demands beyond
178 the capacity of the country to provide.

The golden mean would call for such a balancing of forces that Greek villagers, proud of their rural heritage but aware of steps necessary to improve their economic and educational position, would grow stronger with the passing of time. For some the answer to greater economic stability would lie in higher yields per acre through fertilization and better farming practices; in other cases mechanization may prove an aid, as would more efficient irrigation or marketing facilities and lower interest rates. Along with the economic remedies, whatever they prove to be, a sense of psychological security will develop in the peasant if he thinks of himself as a landowner and gets prestige and satisfaction from the intelligent way he treats his land. Linked to this, however, must be the feeling that he — the villager — is not Greece's forgotten or neglected man, but that those engaged in agriculture are viewed by policy makers as an important segment of national life. Individually and collectively, no people can afford the costly luxury of taking lightly their birthright of land.

they had a resilience that kept them going. When asked how their tobacco crop was doing, they broke into broad smiles, and the man said: 241

"This year our tobacco is just like basil." (By this they meant that it was nice, thick, and round.)

The woman was quick to add, "ho Theos na dosi" (may God grant it).

In a book of interpretations there is a temptation to linger with a couple like this, to record in detail their simple ways which contrast so markedly with the complicated life in the West. The temptation is even stronger when one encounters throughout Greece peasants who are as far removed from mechanization as the Acropolis is removed from the Empire State Building. The late Robert P. T. Coffin, during a year in Greece, caught their spirit in "The Golden Age," which begins:

> High in the back mountains of old Greece
> I came upon incredible peace;
> A wife with a distaff twisting wool
> A boy who filled wool breeches full,
> Riding together on a burro
> Ahead of a bronze man running a furrow
> On a steep acre mostly rocks,
> Twenty red hens, and two bronze cocks.[8]

Yet there is a spirit of change stirring in Greece that cannot be ignored no matter how strongly one may be drawn to the simplicity of the past. To drive along the road just south of Corinth and to see a new bright orange tractor plowing in the shadow of Akrokorinthos, with its lofty crown of crenelated medieval ruins on the summit, is a startling sensation; or between Levadeia and Lamia in Central Greece, to come suddenly upon a combine efficiently working its way through a wheat field with Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, as a backdrop, is to be jolted momentarily by the incongruities of an invasion by the machines into an ancient world which for ages had moved in the pattern of man, land, and animals. 178 241 407

The swiftly changing techniques are illustrated vividly on almost any day's tour through the countryside. At threshing time, for instance, I have seen peasants threshing grain by putting it into a bag and pounding it with sticks; not far away will be several threshing floors on the edge of the village with many teams of horses tramping out the grain; elsewhere there will be the slow-moving oxen pulling a little platform with metal teeth fixed underneath to separate the grain from the stalk; and around the next bend may be a big cooperatively owned threshing machine operated by a long belt turned by a tractor. Tired women, faces veiled with white scarves against the scorching heat and dust, stand feeding the broken sheaves into the thresher; other women sack the grain for the sweating men to carry away in trucks. In the memory of the traveler the impression of fierce heat and 243 178 [407]

243 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the
● 178 fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the
combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief.
It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be
removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as
[241] well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage
[311] of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus
[406] putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the
machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its
[462] promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier
burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice
and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow
of water.

178 The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by
312 blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by
gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated
241 by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is
406 found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton
fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of
[433] Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture
241 and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of
422 mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of
178 Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new
hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a
[407] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago
I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well,
[452] for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and
they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning
[464] one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been
[243] threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the
place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a
tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however,
[554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige.
We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants
going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered
if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with 241
him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I 178
turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here.

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers
and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their
family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers [407]
would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he
put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger
tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do
the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now
drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the [445]
tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which
came out to the village when necessary.

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say,
much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around [123]
the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: [651]
"Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the
Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody [609]
cry out, 'Americans!'" [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from [522]
an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems
that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating [609]
saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors.
In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road
and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting
the lonely coffin.

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the
subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor [407]
instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type.

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me 241
work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He
agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very 461
much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who,
in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their 178
fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos,
some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that
of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari,

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
● 178 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum.
462 The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person
who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The
women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can
occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more
time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.][8]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in
> that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors —
> [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic
> advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his
> [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more
> attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those
> who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain
> [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of
> his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

[476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer
spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see
who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
[461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a
peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have 461
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?'
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about 242
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton.
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is 462
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. 517
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the 423
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do 556
peasantry.
178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with 407
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the 435
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 452
60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials
considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. 439
Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem 444
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers
how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government 658
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 874
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or 422
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors 474
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

178 241 [434] of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure, help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

THE HARVESTERS OF CHALKIDIKE (MACEDONIA)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 241 243 464 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agriculture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[8]

243 124 One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the

Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little 243
likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as 465
a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?"
"Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that
he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement
is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat
they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting
it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea.

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in 243
late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals 464
or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever
there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman 594
as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he
sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls
they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring
back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have
a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home
village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," 243
interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating 466
that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night
as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger [412]
of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided
for himself.

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, 124
our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away
on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit
them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the
wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help
they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance
to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When 464
mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested 178
by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many
thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where
their services are no longer needed.

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

Vlachs EH15

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1 Peloponnesos

Sara Katsani EH14

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do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today. 233 474

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement." G 233 241 177 178 [291] [234]

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked. G 124 137 G 517 233

THE "NOMADS" OF EPIRUS

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece. G 563 S

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.* They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them V G [233] [221]

Vlachs EH15

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but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoúles Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

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The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

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STRESS AND STRAIN

The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly
made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they
654 must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peasant's
[241] practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires
through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production
in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
● 178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With
the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double
purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet,
middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

seemed sadly out of place in his mountain dweller's lambskin kalpaki 233
(brimless hat) and his shepherd's staff, sitting under a tree and looking out 178
at the fishing boats.

"Do you have sheep?" we wanted to know, both curious and surprised [291]
to see him there.

"No."

"Then why are you wearing the kalpaki and carrying the shepherd's crook?"

"I've lost so much that I like to carry my crook just to have the illusion that I still have my sheep."

Some of the younger men in the group, separated by war from their mountains and their sheep, were full of talk and plans of farming. When we asked them if they had thought of fishing here by the sea, both young and old looked incredulous, even contemptuous. "We are shepherds," they said proudly. "We do not know the sea." Having lost the mountains, the younger men were willing to try the plain, but the older ones could not. The concept of occupational displacement took visible form in this fifty-year-old shepherd sitting idly and hopelessly under a tree, looking at the sea which he did not know and the plain which he could not understand, his big brown hands clasping the symbol of his lost world, the shepherd's crook.

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, 462
logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a
result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary 593
connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece.

GETTING ALONG WITH THE LORD AND MASTER

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, 562
her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, 593
through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man.

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a [571]
pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband [178]
and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position.

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys 562
over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children 842
he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." 858
Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace,
however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one [195]
guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband.
Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the [591]
son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in [583]
the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed
for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken [521]
jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's
conversations. 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take 787
a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia,

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be 562
relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the 593
home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that [178] many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, 178
behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled 562
all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; [464] nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the in- 178
fluence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been
mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern 562
where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in 594
family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece,
where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opin- 184
ion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from [654] Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

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594 does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would
184 make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is al-
593 most a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the gen-
594 eral rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives,
[178] one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a
[586] wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult
[562] to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes
[178] under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This
[369] holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections,
562 but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into
641 governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally
666 agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[9]

562 Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her hus-
641 band had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights"
593 would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting,
[626] she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women
[623] on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission
[177] to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

562 The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights
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reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural 562
Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by 593
day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common
life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on
mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband [581]
is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou
to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala
echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the [758]
practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that [262]
good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, 593
is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons 576
learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood.
Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young 276
man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?"
The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to
smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I [124]
went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked
in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke
this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man [178]
no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is
going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young
men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers;
in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse
where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. 593
In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or 576
even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of 275
gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in 562
Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the
same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general
rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse
than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages
the people say that they do not have enough cafes and so the possibility
of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing 178
respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said,
"The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now 593
you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. 576
In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is
patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier [524]
age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek
customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under [829]
the Turks and when people were isolated.

● 178 593 576 [369] the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 369 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters, too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 585 [591] [824] [271] Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

THE WIFE AND HER IN-LAWS

591 596 606 607 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the members of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere,
there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will
soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope
and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want
to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or
have a little icon." •

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were supposed
594 to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs"
because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen
teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the
American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them
when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had
disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control,
they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus
pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by
his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to
administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something
in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if
they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would
have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she
intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when
he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed
to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But
he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little,
yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where
the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time,
the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out
that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to
his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the
evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about
the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by personal
184 observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were
about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned,
even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters
of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they
will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When
the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more
severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

FOOD AND CLOTHING

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for
cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking
in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The
[313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the
[492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where
[462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from
time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud
[178] stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In
fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of
[415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for
cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens.
264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive,
a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever
dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But
everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food
[261] is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you."[4] Therefore, when we describe
the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared
146 with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food.
262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in
Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948-49

Food group	Percentage of calories: Greece	Percentage of calories: United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete; A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now 252
and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighbor- [512]
hood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More [184]
and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, al- [178]
though the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven.
Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 [256]
percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resi- 273
nated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never
fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink.
Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink [527]
ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply 291
and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time prepar-
ing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers through- [462]
out Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three [294]
generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, [177]
such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are excep-
tions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holi- [292]
days as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however,
little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The no- [184]
madic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black
garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and [563]
their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the north- [184]
ern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and
a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many
other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These
garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" [294]
which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the [286]
women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least
modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the cus- [292]
tomary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up [369]
outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the [177]

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the 286
women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more dif- [184]
ficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the [511]
plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home
economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra [571]
sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to
school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to [583]
the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry.
But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darn- 296
ing everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which [512]
machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water
may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are es- 296
pecially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these
take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring 312
or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another 178
in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then some-
one, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that [482]
village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

FARM TASKS

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; 351
it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on
the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before 002

462 Before

356 Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
249 strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
251 to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
236 done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to
dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the
251 yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover
of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the
time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
235 mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full re-
sponsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poul-
try raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and
a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
233 sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
343 horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are
provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
461 where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the
family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon
it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
241 prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to
231 gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women
has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns
to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
●178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
313 cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One
still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice,
with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
589 the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the
field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or per-
haps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
464 better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness
745 and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government reg-
ulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield
their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

462

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and 241
many other products requiring patient labor. 178 ●

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source 464
of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although
regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she 854
may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she 855
works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by
women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women 369
live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and
villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms 654
due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening 491
up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively
in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension 242
workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men
that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better
methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is
relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She
works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house.
She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house.
One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) 438
where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house,
buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if
the women had had sufficient time.

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any 758
ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, 462
with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of
folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, 574
as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him
and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards 511
of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries 369
of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded
with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for
centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated
medical discoveries of the modern world.

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a 753
scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and 755
> incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but 757
> it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no
> good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are 776

TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

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Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid.
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

[583]

[583]
[162]

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

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people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the [178]

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves through-
577 out the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads
178 and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day
583 near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were
[243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand
and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of
[465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their
uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

"What will happen to the money?"

583 "It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of
594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee
[511] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries
[438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from
the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra*, or marriage broker, when this is necessary.* But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what
[583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of
184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers
to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would
178 choose their wives ranged as follows:

> *Epirus:* I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.
>
> *Thasos* (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. 584 Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental 184 consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You 178 find these near the cities where people make money in such matters.

Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage 584 for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first 581 term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they 178

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584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Holly-
581 wood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the
● 178 willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the
[831] parents strongly object.

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where par-
[626] ents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

THE DOWRY

581 What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young
583 people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[7] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the
[162] villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

582 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own 583 account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony [178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the [452] necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no installment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will [511] only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furniture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, [425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone [178] from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

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provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the
going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are 583
mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on [178]
the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica,
and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an
equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the [369]
dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house
consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family
can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high [427]
rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are
considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice
to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as [178]
the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some
cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may 583
be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. 594
But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who
brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in [554]
her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no
dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be
subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be 583
gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the
Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same [184]
throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented: [461]

45–50 blankets [415]
6 sheets
12 pairs pillow cases
15–16 towels
2 big rugs
6 rag rugs [412]
6 big sauce pans
3 medium pans

3 small pans
1 big frying pan
1 medium frying pan
2 round cake pans
2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 of each piece of cutlery
Fireplace equipment (big kettle,
2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous
generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship [727]
than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families
to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those [432]

MARRIAGE

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship 582
of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry.
In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth [178] ●
degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat.
Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia
there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, [608]
young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren"
and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative
to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position
on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family 581
during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Ortho- 779
dox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the
human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of 795
the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He
points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but
they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful sum- 584
mary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 585

> 1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the 779
> woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
> 2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. [301]
> In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
> 3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in [273]
> Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
> 4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
> 5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly [788]
> stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wed- 585
ding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up
in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

> When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been
> given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sun- [587]
> day unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a
[177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens 586 if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility 178 by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective 587 mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's 369 rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a 562 matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her. 593

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long 589 period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; 765 also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute 587 to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children 583 who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need 591 there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? 476
The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries [764]
him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as [775]
they say themselves, he watches them.[2]

THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GREECE

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual 474
aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organiza- 476
tion designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve
goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition 178 ●
from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure.

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative or- [369]
ganization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers.

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes
closely identified with the central government, which immediately
476 introduces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a
178 psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of
cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting
past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece
438 was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece,
which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the
community's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the
621 guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single
community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different
474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were
[875] charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local
credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with
474 at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could
656 be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be
of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12
to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the coopera-
tive and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be
very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also,
[664] from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch
[124] with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With
the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disap-
peared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick im-
provement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to
mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives under-
take no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially ex-
plained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to
be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agricul-
ture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were
working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a
commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the rela-
[652] tionship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agri-
cultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate informa-
tion to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land
when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
178 in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a com-
[621] mittee which took charge of the management of this community land, de-
riving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a
cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time
the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which super-
seded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the
local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for
their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all
family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer
ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

474

were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles 178 ●
and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women 243
also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. [293]
The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew [751]
> so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small [464]
> permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a 474
loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this
part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each 258
family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that [652]
it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the
customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the man- [778]
ager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning
of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, [788]
but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized 474
what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or
special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For exam- [758]
ple, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong,
there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit coopera- [652]
tive explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five [233]
thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

346 Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of
361 the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory
animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church
764 may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree.
[783] There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village.
It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main
[312] church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-con-
structed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not
forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built
their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[33]

● [178] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being
[769] constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the
outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony,
go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

619 the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia.
[575] They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity
to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and
destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and
as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have
[602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that
they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely
dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them;
they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really
[203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on
which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look
● 178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from
619 the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one
is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which
is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most
part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree
by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have
relatively little control.

[P.291]
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[XVI]

Social Change in Rural Greece

The Greek social spectrum, the rainbow in the rock, is losing some of its 178
hues today. This occurs as regions of Greece, despite their traditional social differences, adjust to common changes engulfing the whole country. The fact of change is accepted by all, but the evaluation of specific kinds of change (in family life, economic development, political trends) varies with the position of the person passing judgment. For most villagers, changes — at least those they want — are not occurring fast enough. When I had sorted out and studied their comments, which usually dealt with some facet of change, past or present, I found that the experiences they related could be grouped under three general types: the *cataclysmic* change caused by some great social or natural upheaval; the changes resulting from *social drift*, or the slower spread of unplanned change as new ways moved from town to village; and the *planned* change, most frequently sponsored by government agencies in an effort to raise the level of living in the villages.[1]

CATACLYSMIC CHANGE

Almost every generation of Greeks has experienced some social disloca- 178
tion accompanying a war or, at least, armed encounters. The present adult 648
population has had more than its share. While the country was busy with
the tasks of assimilating the northern provinces, wrested from Turkey in 727

178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
727 an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack
the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part
of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following
the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of
Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed
[728] to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as
[167] a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece
proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [3] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national
727 life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially
one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[4] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encom-
pass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder
[177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic
groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them 178
to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for nu- 167
merous changes had followed their arrival.

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity 727
not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with
the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain [619]
because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from [563]
Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception
of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for
irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states
since their creation as independent political units.

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agricul-
ture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as [241]
well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers.

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. [744]
Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures.

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, [288]
such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, in-
cluding entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing [464]
labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new en-
vironment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was [228]
at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees.

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
669 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster
166 to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town
[657] or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as
[369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] [302] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes following the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was
> [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

SOCIAL DRIFT

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

● 178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has
been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
511 sion of religion, observed:

> 369 People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
> [454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during
178 April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
433 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change.
464 The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce
tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transi-
241 tional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After
analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains
from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

> part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this 178
> would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system 433
> of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and
> only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be 464
> the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all
> the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. 241
> Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

> The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income.
> When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by [166]
> mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's eco- 178
nomic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though
numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive 434
about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of [162]
the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185
per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how
strong the desire.

● 178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
594 near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
602 emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed 178
studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted 369
was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who
had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents 602
of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not [554]
> come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning
> unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions
> and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . .
> Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link [619]
> the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece.
> As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but
> continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, [423]
still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; [593]
the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested [606]
interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is
located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers
living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the [571]
dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of
time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion.
Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made
possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, [513]
sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural
and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the
suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person,
thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village 178
has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide 628
to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't
you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

● 178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing
close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response
by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way
of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation,
even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling
to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education,
562 but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage.
666 Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
[626] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this
[593] prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the
male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to
vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not
following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which
supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies
to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
185 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every
727 hand.

PLANNED CHANGE

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and
reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered
most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and
schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise
dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by
the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on
their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried
with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a
trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so
generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate
relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose
Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction,
or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with
the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This 177
program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important 178 ●
roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the
Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece,
staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the
Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in
order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the
support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government.
But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless
very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which
frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation 177
was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — 178
Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given 874
in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated
the village studies just mentioned. 242

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School
of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by
Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law,
Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of
agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded
Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through
a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly
to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups [185]
of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come
in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 178
10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food 474
and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the
cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered 185
in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, 242
through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also,
the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers
on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared
to postwar developments.

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate 178
that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures 185
were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally
but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the 654
Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static
during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned
change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a 177
wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev- 464
653

177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias,* often translated "welfare through
653 employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[*]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
207 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administra-
491 tion (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
● 178 true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[241] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire
[654] for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[*] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A 177 further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting 178 a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers [829] exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and 177 one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience 178 in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, 242 and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and 654 what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being 178 set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through 654 its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development [874] Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

177 178 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

FROM PEASANT TO FARMER

184 241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and 184
some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" 241
to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require
that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, 511
the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender,
whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, [426]
but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving [474]
out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant 184
is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the
future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which 241
to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. 178
He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given
area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the [242]
peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his 184
land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it
as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur- 423
454

184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production.
He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas
in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed
down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a
strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land
intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the
children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer
may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements
made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more
land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are
economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members
of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the
purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes.
Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and
in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from
family labor to machinery.* First, by reducing the labor requirements it
frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate
their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces
change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there
is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family
who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine.
In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially
the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned
obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority"
in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization
is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
184 to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small jointownership
group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American
Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages
of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any 178
event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor re- 241
quirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family 184
acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine
owner looking for a larger area to farm. [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait
between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of 178
the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market 184
town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic 369
benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent
upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine [445]
there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town.

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from [291]
peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have form- [511]
erly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm.

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened ex- 178
posure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been 184
the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him 369
by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear
about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the
same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With [20]
the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down.

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about [665
government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- 669]

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
369 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
665 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as
definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some coun-
829 tries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme. Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the
82 less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
184 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They
156 begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

when public opinion has been structured to favor a course of action, it is hard for recalcitrant individuals to hold out for long.

A third attitudinal shift might be characterized as that from the sacred to the secular. In social science, these terms have their specialized meanings. A sacred society, such as an extreme peasant type is supposed to be, relies almost entirely on custom and tradition as the guide to what is right and wrong, proper and improper. The elders are respected, for they are the repositories of wisdom from the past and can interpret to others what should be done, whether in the family circle or in communal affairs. The modern farmer, on the other hand, lives in a secular society in the sense that the rational, scientific test is applied to his economic choices. He does not ask at what stage of the moon's cycle he is supposed to put seed potatoes in the ground, but uses other criteria for determining this. Furthermore, if a young man knows more than an older man about a matter of concern to him, the older man will listen just as eagerly to the young man.

Finally, the peasant's feeling of security, based almost entirely on kinship and the mutual aid of neighbors, gives way to the farmer's reliance on his own efforts plus an organized system of crop and fire insurance, governmental pension plans, and membership in associations and cooperatives of various types which help him weather whatever economic storms he encounters. This leads to much greater social interdependence, which carries with it possibilities both for good and for difficulty. Once there is any breakdown in the social network, the price mechanism, or the system of delivery of which the farmer is a part, he is at the mercy of forces which he as an individual cannot control. At the same time, when these forces do work well, he is assured of a level of living far beyond the peasant's fondest dreams and a sense of participation in an ever-expanding social universe.

Anyone who has read through the book thus far is familiar with the wide range which different regions of Greece represent on this peasant-farmer continuum. Even more important, the following of any single Greek villager through his daily rounds would indicate that no villager holds to these peasant traits in their entirety, nor have any of them moved to commercial farming to the extent represented by much of American agriculture. One thing is certain: those that have been primarily of the peasant mold are moving from many of these traits into those more closely approximating the modern farmer. This movement goes on at an uneven rate and points up much inconsistency in village behavior. But social change inevitably works itself out at this uneven tempo, and planning from on high in Athens seems to do little to smooth out the jagged course of modernization. Recent trips to Greece reinforce my earlier impressions that farming in the Greek countryside is becoming much more scientific because of the very successful programs of planned change previously described, as well as because of the dynamic quality of the Greek villager himself. The Greek

178 184 peasant is rapidly becoming a farmer. But what about those who leave the village, displaced by the machine or attracted by opportunities elsewhere? What transformation do they have to go through if they are to adjust to urban and industrial life?

FROM VILLAGER TO URBANITE

369 Although this study of Greek life has concentrated upon the village, some observations about villagers transplanted to the city have relevance to foreign aid as a force for change. If farm workers are displaced by the machine, they tend to gravitate toward population centers where they hope to find work as general laborers or to follow some small skill they may have acquired. The coming of factories usually means some migration of labor, much of it frequently stemming from the rural areas. In fact, in the Western sense, to industrialize means to de-ruralize.

Any foreign-aid program, therefore, which creates new urban centers or leads to the movement of rural people to older centers in search of jobs is introducing not only a type but a tempo of change that must be taken into account in the allocation of economic resources. Some funds will undoubtedly have to be used to ease the transition for those making the move if they are not to become a discontented proletariat. This becomes more evident when we see what happens when a villager becomes an urbanite.

One of the first effects is for the villager to find himself immersed in a much more heterogeneous society. Occupations are more numerous, specialization is greater, and social extremes — the rich and the very poor — are more pronounced than anything he had experienced in the village. There is an intoxicating excitement in the possibilities that seemingly lie before him, although he realizes early in his stay that lack of training and insufficient income limit the realization of many of the more desirable alternatives. He comes face to face with people deriving from different cultural backgrounds, encounters different religious and ethnic groupings, and can participate in recreational pursuits not known in his native village. This richness, this complexity of urban life often calls for living techniques not acquired in the village. As a substitute, therefore, those recently arrived from rural areas may live with others of their kind in a semifolk environment in parts of cities where they are to some degree insulated from the total impact that the city might make upon them.

A second effect of migration to the city is that life becomes job-focused. One's fortune rests not only on the kind of job one has but frequently upon the mere fact of having a job or not. As a peasant back on the farm he had many tasks to perform, but these varied with the season and could often be done at a time of his choosing, within limits. But as an employee, whether a general laborer on a construction project or a worker in a factory, he moves into a different way of life. He must subscribe to a new type

361 church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and
its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village
that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

621 The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is
called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village
[361] is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand
there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other
[443] of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's
work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's
men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to
[527] drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians
[533] come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at
[535] watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and,
621 indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically
by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is
562 conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods,
437 and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to
the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the
aghora on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to
pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young
mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato
vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet
from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and
then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her
tomatoes for her.

594 The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the
public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside
observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and
[423] around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's
married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The
342 structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with
the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular
stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second
story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house.
[178] The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation,
and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses.
The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose
tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are
constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are
still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in
area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-
[343] washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows,
and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined
storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now 342
being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, [178]
flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house
several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them
a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have
married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in
order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents.

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens 333
which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is
always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the [514]
village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village,
and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most 351
desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house
with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some
mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or
twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit.
One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar
ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings
and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as
a substitute for the walls.

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places 361
of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the
western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses
is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. [342]
Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. [823]
That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street
or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, [343]
the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This
combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or [351]
wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results
in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The 363
single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another
house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a
storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around
several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway
of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys
between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths
and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged
in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an
orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or
squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on 361
different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does
not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around
close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas
of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of
another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do?
Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the
484 agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day,
for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George
in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus
directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been
baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St.
George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors
to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St.
Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
484 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
574 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha*
for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals
and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually
choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or
camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles
481 through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly
along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The
pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The
villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals,
whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever
in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a
horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled,
and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a
tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of
lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The
178 response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually
believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants;
in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the
village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently
than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable
satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

such as electrification and the provision of a reservoir for water to be piped to the houses. But the village is neither the moral center of the life of the villagers, nor is it, as an entity in its own right, one of their dominant interests. 621 178●

Starting an ethnography with a chapter called "The Setting" is a common practice among anthropological writers. By implication, what will follow is a kind of play for which the "setting" provides the scene. Such a beginning is particularly appropriate to Vasilika, because the village has, for its inhabitants, as well as for the observer, some of the quality of a stage-set. The people of Vasilika seem to think of their fellow villagers as acting the role of the chorus in ancient Greek drama (it is the chorus which comments on the action). The main action of the "play" in the village lies in the life of the family. We have heard villagers exclaim in connection with some intense family situation, *"Ti dhrama!"* "What a tragedy!" 621 594

From an anthropological point of view, the family in Vasilika is significant not only as the focus of interest for the villagers, but also as a separable unit of the social structure of the settlement. In cultural terms, the patterns in which families participate as a unit form a large part of the culture of the entire community. The next three chapters are therefore devoted to the activities of the village families.

248

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those 312
of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent 406
income helps to defray the cost of the machinery. 427

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate 221
in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes
plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a num- 248
ber of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor 407
furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is
ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and
several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The 178
utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of
Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about 242
using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by
hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an
experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in
1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to pro- 243
vide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of 231
corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for 262
human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty. 735

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins.
This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and 248
arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is 464
done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help.
If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point 221
that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who
are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives
and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers
who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over
after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted,
farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the 248
house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 465
1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the
use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the 178
early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the 494
necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several dif-
ferent periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and
hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the
season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the
change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women,
who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional
work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' 264
wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and,
before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which
would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately
sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The
292 weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched
[412] by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and
shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved
flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed
[152] when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See
us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our
rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
356 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
462 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing;
and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physi-
cal work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight
they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and
464 his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for
a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium
during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time
they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them.
312 Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression
that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give.
The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud
over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about
irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully 244 [417]
tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks.

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may 222
be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and 262
on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and
cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the 462
women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children [857]
can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and
boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served
every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet.

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as 245
many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two
in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an
occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings.
The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of 251
them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. 262
Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but [574]
after that, the villagers buy what they need.

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant [438]
addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized
need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince
their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important [263]
condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy
the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves,
although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes.

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince 242
the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government 251
recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to
improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased 245
cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But 178
there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even
the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the [262]
house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared.
When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and
the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others
to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument.

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, 242
nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious 178
demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships
between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables 245
which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements
which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the
farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range
experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, [875]
in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
●178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques
[875] they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959,
therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens.
By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues
that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One
or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two
goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses,
as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from
Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying
people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between
the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women,
but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the
young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping
and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take
no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in
the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove
[865] the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless,
the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage
children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate,
the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of
age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun
into thread at home by the women.

231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered
[552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents
permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them
[865] as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling
that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also
act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of
[178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the
[373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in
the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and
paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing
511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small
592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land
or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households
of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to
[422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households
usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens.
Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever,
[464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the
neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to
what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them
close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—
some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better
or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land
owner in the village has about 150 *stremata,* several men have something like
100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata.* Forty *stremata* are re-
garded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for
[422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get
additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep
to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have
one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac-
511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fer-
tility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some
farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient,
but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations
[178] since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have
involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new
attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
438 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been produced
178 in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these
511 items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption
that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
517 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
356 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late
463 fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit
in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments
represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field
chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic
of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
183 as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even
to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one
farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason
or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with
interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure
collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it
a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did
they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job.
He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was
ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances,
farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally
try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point
here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have
skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance
of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they
are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some 178
corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton 241
was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present 433
villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to
lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of
surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all [434]
agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives
more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180
stremata worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended [511]
and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased
the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to
increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I 178
believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same 594
goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important
culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family 554
members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material 511
standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its [556]
material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment
of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending 247
innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would 511
be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of 312
watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both 178
for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering
to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of
it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far 151
more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. 828
The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality
and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is
properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined
in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of
Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and
also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances.
The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive
to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners [354]
disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking,
and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major 511
respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement
to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people 183
of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type
since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their
old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various 511
types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, 342
in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance.
Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the [231]
village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room
is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third,
an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One
end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the [354]
saloni has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and,
since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of [574]
the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, 353
has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. 511
The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often
included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the [778]
house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the
crowns, hangs from the ceiling. [585]

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on [354]
the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of
electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which [178]
is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that
the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most important
291 item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is clothing.
511 The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their childhood
292 in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes
somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
427 wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at
least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like
skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now
worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
177 lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
367 professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
626 Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
292 up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the
village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men,
when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter overcoats
177 are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by
men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and
wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear
all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves
more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men
wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
184 on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
511 They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief,
wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely
removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
302 Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around
the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields,
these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is
loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
765 to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning.
Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is
in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
554 mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the
outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177] [302] [178] [305] [445]

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [179] [856]

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, 511
as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige. [556]

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption
habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to 454
dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the 433
cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient
farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible 178
to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated 511
process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers'
produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more
specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms
can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry
system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the
next chapter.

571 the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some
496 different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the
592 family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but
554 do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

369 (beside "villagers like the variety"), 461 (beside "the tiring and messy work")

163 Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and in-
842 heritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the ques-
511 tion of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The
178 parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some
844 prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is
554 recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most pres-
745 tige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and
759 is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are ex-
855 pected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children 511
were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into 178
fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what 871
he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left
for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the 511
sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some [594]
other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a
student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade
elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes
even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue
his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after [647]
elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical
or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service
or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized
advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of
the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions
(Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens,
so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's
board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever [591]
possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but
even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost
of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a
basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in
the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks
up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure 871
of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is 554
about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek
Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational 594
expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of 428
the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika
it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of [671]
his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the [166]
land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His
parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social [369]
stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving
occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the [671]
recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons
beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in
the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation,
they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among
Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage
of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For
farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the 584
discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have
the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective
spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to
be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The [581]
villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between
spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a har-
monious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic
or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from
the lack of personal contentment.

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the
machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit
by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to
the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father
of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the
groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as
socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For
the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what
is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest
and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolu- [574]
tion of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own
relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large
engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The
bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come.

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple
are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other
but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the
girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have [836]
proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during
this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is [626]
disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an
immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry
property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore
not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are fre-
quent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has
been protracted for as long as ten years.

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less 178 ●
elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will 585
show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently [621]
results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. More-
over, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large num-
bers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's
father.

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however,
much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives 583
come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 585

583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is expected
[286] to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets,
two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen
blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental
table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth
with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two
long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before
baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town,
are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
585 crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning
the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the
house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find
the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside
giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining,
the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
[262] the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with
a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[3] But even among farmers these customs are
changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
● [178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few
years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village
and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

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[3] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation 596
as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view 594
which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own 428
resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is 577
possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that 777
anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they
feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mis- 428
trust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question 596
as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son 596
was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in 594
which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first,
the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age dis- 173
tribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable [162]
age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. [582]
Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct
178 which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have
changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their
182 fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited
lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some
continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at mar-
[421] riage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the
legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the
425 Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular
landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who
[582] might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[671] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357)
[795] prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin
[611] in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from
resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

reply is commonly "*Amesos!*" "Immediately!" or "*Eftasa!*" "I have arrived al- 561
ready!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; 576
others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance 888
of these phrases for us is that "*glighora*" is never used by a younger person to
an older one.

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, 561
on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age 571
group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations,
with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation
so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Pre- 858
school children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them
and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, [594]
take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital
concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children [857]
from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have 883
finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so
in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they 594
were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by
taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to
trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends [572]
to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together,
go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for [476]
free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in
neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the
farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless,
as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and
advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final de-
cision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants.

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with 561
other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to 185
do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various
means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid 594
and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end 178
of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the genera-
tions. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "pro-
gressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and
on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in
the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with
the rest.

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in 578
the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of [567]
the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to
our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations be- [594]
tween the generations. [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not [562]
prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too
different from each other for that.

an upheaval comparable to that which shattered the unity of the western 795
world in the sixteenth century, not on account of the glacier of Turkish 788
dominion which descended upon it a hundred years earlier, but because it had never known that separation of theology and mysticism, liturgy and personal devotion, which—when all is said as to the influence of political and economic factors—is required to explain the all-engulfing cataclysm of the Reformation.

In the next chapter I propose to consider certain features of the long 795
history of the Greek Church in so far as they exercise a lively influence 178
upon the contemporary scene; for in Greece it is peculiarly difficult
to disentangle past and present, and historical memory is remarkably 173
tenacious. In the remotest mountain villages of Epirus or the Peloponnese one may meet with small children who do not merely know far more about Lord Byron than one can reasonably expect of the majority of his countrymen—*that*, after a little time in Greece, one takes for granted—but who can sometimes relate strange apocryphal stories of Admiral Codrington or Sir Richard Church; and, in the imagination of the monks of Athos, Pope Innocent III occupies a position similar to that which Oliver Cromwell holds amongst the peasant farmers of Ireland.

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III

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.

ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

795
178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects [793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

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178
551 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the returned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

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197 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of 178
the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that 197
this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios!*"

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like 178
his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession 799
in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the
apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, 795
and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to
the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains
the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at 178
Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read 788
in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day
the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language 795
in which they were written. 198

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons 178
expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the 788
resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are
carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the 795
custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the
laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his
bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, 178
between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the
triumphant *Christos anesti!* Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is* 795
risen! As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied 576
by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they

THE WATERS OF MARAH

● 178
795 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or
576 Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the
Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."[1]

178 Nor is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the
795 vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her
788 liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the
[771] Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

[539]
To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
    is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
    is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
    is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
    is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

Orthodox Church has been able to preserve in all its integrity the faith 178
once delivered to the saints. Ecclesiastical organisation has never in 795
eastern Christendom been looked upon as having an importance such 788
as, at any rate from the eleventh century onwards, it assumed in the 771
west. Provided only that he is free to participate fully in the liturgical life of his local church, the Greek or Russian Christian is prepared to sit curiously lightly to matters of jurisdiction and the machinery of ecclesiastical government and administration. Even when, as in the U.S.S.R. to-day, the Church is subject to every imaginable restriction save this bare permission to celebrate the divine mysteries, she can yet contrive to hold fast to her traditions with a tenacity which must often strike the western Christian as little short of miraculous: "the stable perseverance in these our days of the *Greek* Church", wrote Rycaut in the seventeenth century, "notwithstanding the Oppression and Contempt put upon it by the *Turk* . . . is a Confirmation no less convincing than the Miracles and Power which attended its first beginnings."

So, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast; though Christian schools were maintained, often with great heroism in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the children of Hellas relied even more upon the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in secret and dark places . . ."

It is in remote townships like Kastoria that one can best enter into 178
the spirit of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. To the traveller 795
who approaches the ancient city of Diocletian from the southward
there is little to suggest the presence of some seventy-two churches. 346
Kastoria reveals its secrets only to those who are prepared to spend several days scrambling up and down the stony paths below the nineteenth-century metropolis, where tiny churches are set obscurely amidst the high, fortress-like domestic architecture of a later age. A great number of these churches date from Byzantine days, for from about the seventh century onwards this mountain township served as a place of exile for many whose presence at Constantinople was, for one reason or another, considered undesirable. Many more were built during the

THE WATERS OF MARAH

178 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely dis-
795 tinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow
346 apse at the east end proclaims the church.

[532] Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls unpierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoria, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of
795 the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain
788 lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not
771 been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to
itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is
not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even
to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

> with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men 178 795
> are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct
> and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in 788
> the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their 771
> Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the 178
Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst 795
the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform
even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little 792
religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' 805
Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaioemerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a
strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable [869]
to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story
of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness 178
(already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly 795
west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of
the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English 788
layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so 771
far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so [793]
the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

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795 the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—
788 an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which
771 always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

*

795 During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear
798 that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as
173 '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our textbooks of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk 795
of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is 798
he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, 173
especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been [797]
confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism.

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries 619
of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable 795
phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs 178
that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate.

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. 619
Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, 795
remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have
but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 722

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of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes 619
of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed 795
steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. [722]
The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious
defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God".
Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably [346]
linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood
paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain 619
weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that 795
measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people
would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples 659
of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments 793
within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed 178
to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only 795
dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping: conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians, the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for Christendom as a whole.

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and
primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the
783 common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily
toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are
eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood

788

178

of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later 796
chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: 788
very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the
anaphora, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say 178
mystikos—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels
at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet
reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy
was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert
de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy
to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is
hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself
three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have
occasion to return.

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there 796
were some thirty communicants including several children borne in 782
the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish
church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the 852
blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of 788
those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their
father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere
to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery 783
of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are 796
rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as
might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians
of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has
tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation
for holy communion.

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in 796
Greece at least.

[785]

> Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

HEAVEN UPON EARTH

The liturgical movement in the west is nothing less than a reassertion 788
of the true nature of the liturgy and of its place in the life of the Church, springing from a recovered vision of the nature of the Christian mystery, and from the realisation that dogma and scripture can never be isolated from the living liturgical tradition of the worshipping community without serious impoverishment and distortion. Its scope embraces a far wider field than the province of the liturgiologist, and though it is commonly associated with such 'ecclesiastical' matters as the purifying of the traditional chant and the reform of ceremonial, it is ultimately concerned with fundamental theological realities. Herein lies the secret of the widespread influence of the movement—an influence which although it has been most profound within the bounds of the Roman communion has yet extended in some measure to German Lutherans, French and Scottish Calvinists and others scarcely less remote from Old Rome. The movement is inextricably bound up with the return, now manifest in many different quarters, to a truly theological approach to biblical exegesis, and a recovered awareness that the ancient fathers are not so dead as some would have them be.

Dom Olivier Rousseau (whose *Histoire du Mouvement liturgique* affords an admirable survey of the origins and later development of the movement throughout western Christendom) has justly observed that so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned there can be no question of a liturgical movement, for her piety has never deviated from her worship.

I have already had occasion to refer to certain reforming tendencies 788
which are exercising a growing influence upon the liturgical life of the
Greek Church at the present time. Father Eusebius Matthopoulos 178
never wearied of expounding the significance of the divine liturgy to the [794]
multitudes who flocked to hear him in every city of Old Greece, and one of the primary aims of the Brotherhood which this great preacher and evangelist founded at the beginning of the present century has always been the reverent celebration of the holy mysteries. One has but to compare the manner in which the holy eucharist is celebrated at the Metropolis in Athens, or the little chapel dedicated to St. Catherine above the outer harbour at the Piraeus, with the use which still obtains in the average Macedonian village church, to realise something of the progress that has been made within a generation.

While, however, one may in a certain sense speak of a liturgical movement within the Greek Church to-day, it is important to recognise how restricted is its scope when compared with recent developments

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

788 in western Christendom. The very limitations of this Greek 'liturgical
● 178 movement' illustrate the Roman Catholic historian's contention that the Orthodox Church has never lost her hold upon certain important truths which we in the west are only now, after long centuries of neglect, beginning to recover and make our own.

788 The word *leitourgia* had in classical Greek the meaning of a public
796 service or duty—it might be building a wall or fitting out a hollow ship
for a naval expedition. Despite the specifically religious associations
[192] which the word has acquired through later usage, it is still sometimes employed in this quite general sense. I remember, for example, being told on one occasion in a small provincial town of northern Greece that the municipal school was not *liturgising* that morning: was not performing its liturgy, or service.

For the Christian, likewise, the liturgy which he fulfils every Sunday in his parish church is a public service; an action performed on behalf not of any terrestrial *polis* but of that city which, as Augustine puts it, is Christ's body of which Christ is the head. The holy eucharist in particular, the service to which the Greek Christian commonly refers as 'the divine liturgy', and upon which the whole of the liturgy, in the wider sense of that word, centres, is supremely the characteristic act of the Church: a corporate action in which every member of the one body takes part. Nor is it those now on earth who alone participate in the eucharistic liturgy. It is not merely the bishop, priest, deacon and reader who, with the remainder of the *laos*—the holy people of God—have their peculiar service to offer within the setting of the one oblation. The saints and the angels, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, no less than the earthly ministers of Christ's body have each their several liturgy to perform; the whole company of the heavenly Sion is present and active in every village church or hilltop chapel where the holy and ineffable mysteries are fulfilled and where the King of kings and Lord of lords comes forth to be sacrificed and given for food to the faithful.

For many centuries now, so far as the west is concerned, this aspect of the eucharist as the characteristic action of the whole Christian community has tended to be obscured. The passing of the austere Latin of the ancient liturgies as a language "understanded of the people" and the banishing of theology to the schools gradually brought about the virtual exclusion of the laity from any active participation in the

788 the eikonostasis is commonly no greater than suffices to permit of the
796 prostrations of the celebrant, and, in a parish church, the laity occupy the greater part of the space beneath the dome, and press against the
346 great screen which bears the eikons, many of the congregation are thus within two or three yards of the holy table itself.

But what, the reader may ask, of the eikonostasis? Does not this solid screen, pierced only by three doors, extending right across the whole width of the church, cut off the laity from all effective participation in the action taking place within the sanctuary quite as much as mere physical remoteness? Does it not tend, as has been asserted by Dom Gregory Dix, to force "upon the eastern liturgies the character of two simultaneous services, the one proceeding outside the screen for the people, conducted chiefly by the deacon; the other—the real liturgical action—proceeding inside the screen conducted by the celebrant"?

788 That there is an element of truth in such contentions may be admitted: witness a tendency which is steadily gaining ground in Greece
796 to-day. In many town churches (with the exception of a few provincial
346 cathedrals liturgical reform has as yet made little headway in the
178 country districts), the curtain which could be drawn across the space above the double doors in the centre of the eikonostasis has now fallen into disuse—at any rate so far as the eucharistic liturgy is concerned. The doors themselves are as a rule only about three feet in height, and it has long been customary to draw these curtains (thus screening the sanctuary completely from the view of the people) at two points during the divine liturgy, at both of which there is much coming and going about the holy table; at the placing of the holy gifts upon the altar immediately after the Great Entrance; and again during the communion of the ministers. This custom has now been abandoned in many places. In a few churches the doors themselves have been removed as, for instance, at Aghia Katerini, Piraeus (where the liturgy is celebrated with a reverence and propriety unsurpassed in all Greece), and, I am told, in the chapel of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople.

788 When all is said, however, the effects of the eikonostasis have been
796 grossly exaggerated by western writers, too many of whom have been content to reiterate *ad nauseam* the strictures of their predecessors in the
346 field of controversy: strictures grounded not infrequently upon the most superficial acquaintance with the liturgical practice of eastern Christendom. The divisive properties of the eikonostasis are most marked in a large church when the space before the royal doors normally

792 727 have been allowed to rust these many years, and armed resistance, however effective it may have been a century ago against a lightly armed assailant, could have availed the monks but little in the face of an enemy equipped with modern artillery. The monasteries lay at the mercy of the *barbaroi*: an easy prey, holding out a tempting prospect of plunder.

Elsewhere in Greece the destruction and pillage of religious houses has been less universal than in the isolated dioceses of the north. The ascetic life still flourishes in many communities scattered amongst the islands and in the Peloponnese; one may still find convents where the unrelenting battle with the powers of darkness is waged with something of its ancient ardour and where the monk is still manifestly the guardian of the walls; but such houses, it must be confessed, are now few and far between.

792 178 659 It must not, however, be supposed that the present decline of Greek monasticism is wholly attributable to the effects of a decade of war. Long before the storm burst upon them in 1940 the Greek monasteries had, with few exceptions, been reduced to a sorry plight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many convents were very wealthy. Since then the foundations of their economy have been undermined by the loss of their properties situated in Rumania, the Caucasus and elsewhere, and as the result of a series of confiscations by the Hellenic government dating from 1833 onwards. Although a portion of the wealth made available by these confiscations has gone to swell the General Ecclesiastical Fund, and so to benefit the work of the Church, this anti-monastic legislation continues to arouse acrimonious controversy not only among the monks but (for rather different reasons) among churchmen in general.

There are, nevertheless, few laymen who would oppose the diversion of monastic property to the furtherance of social and educational projects and the improvement of the condition of the parochial ministry. 792 178 The contemplative life has few champions outside the *sketai* of the holy mountain. There are many who value the monasteries for their former contribution to the life of the nation, for their traditions of hospitality, and for their archaeological interest, but few indeed who now regard them as centres of spiritual power. The traditional monasticism has come to be looked upon—at any rate in the towns—as an out-of-date phenomenon, quite irrelevant to the needs of the present time.

This is true not least of many of the leaders of the new movements, many of whom are outspoken critics of the monks. Everywhere the demand is for *activity* (in the western sense of that word): for training preachers, confessors and catechists, and for raising the standards of clerical education. The monks are looked upon as idle drones who make no contribution to the life of the whole body. Inevitably, such views (which are widespread to-day) have had a marked effect upon monastic recruitment, and postulants are but few. All over Greece the monasteries lie abandoned and falling into ruin; rambling buildings in remote mountain sites visited only by shepherds, or inhabited by a solitary *kalogeros*, more farmer than monk, tending his vineyards and his olive groves and watching over his flocks and herds. 792 178

It would, nevertheless, be rash to assert that the new movements which have sprung up and taken root within the last two generations are anti-monastic in character, however hostile they may seem to be towards the traditional forms of the monastic life. It is tempting to compare a society such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë, for example, to the friars who made their appearance in western Europe more than seven centuries ago and who were frequently no more sympathetic towards the old monasticism than is the Greek theologian of the present time. I shall have occasion to describe this brotherhood in some detail in a later chapter; here I would but remind my reader of the fact that its founder was himself a monk of Megaspelaion, grounded in the traditional observance of that monastery, and that its members (though they do not bind themselves by permanent vows) are celibate priests or laymen, living under a common rule. Despite its novel constitution and organisation the movement retains much of the spirit of the old asceticism, and, in some respects at least, has more of the nature of a reassertion of the fundamental demands of the ascetic life in a form appropriate to the needs of the present time than a denial of their abiding value. 792 794 178

Soon after my arrival in Salonica in 1948, I was warned of the errors of the Zoë brothers and their sympathisers by a *very* idiorrhythmic monk, who assured me that these unhappy innovators were seeking to persuade men that the path that led to salvation was strait and the gateway narrow: such language seemed to have a familiar ring!

If we confine our view to the relics of the old monasticism it must be confessed that the prospect for the future is melancholy in the extreme. Everywhere the old order is passing away; amidst the crumbling walls a few survivors linger on as aliens in an unfamiliar world. But what of

792 794 178 the new wine that is to be found in abundance within the religious societies? Is a new monasticism seeking forms appropriate to a changed environment? It is too early as yet to speak with any confidence, and yet there are signs that out of the present ferment may come something not so very far removed from the traditional patterns of the ascetic life.

Assuredly the passion for activity will have an end. It is but one aspect of that fascination which the feverish culture of the west holds for the modern Greek. Even now there are close personal links between the Zoë Brotherhood and certain convents in Old Greece and the islands where the ancient warfare is still waged with something of its first fiery ardour, and these may well prove to be of great importance for the future of Greek monasticism. We may be certain that the apostolic zeal and devotion which is so abundantly manifest within the religious societies will in time bring about a new awakening to the continuing need for men and women who will give themselves wholly to prayer. Then, indeed, we may hope to see a widespread revival of the monastic life that will people the ancient convents which now lie desolate and abandoned, and bring again the anchorites to the barren heights of Staghi.

Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the 369 most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; [871] and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes—seem ready to offer themselves for ordination.

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in [465] 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." [178] Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the [794] untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration.

mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who 361
throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against 292
the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the 792
canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may
discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin,
the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments
and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer
may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire
which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to
reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's
jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks
from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals [262]
save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of
a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the
harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic 793
is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have 178●
come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering
to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism [292]
prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least,
far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are
faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the 793
use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion 178
lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion
between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the 302
length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the
Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count
it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their
Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and
Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both
very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis
also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the
Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the
letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric
a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling 793
beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a 292
familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping [302]
[792]

EPILOGUE

persuade them that they must quickly be gone. "The poor Archbishop", 788
it is related, "cried out like a child when my Lord of London told him 779
he must Depart." Clearly, the Metropolitan of Thebais was no theolo- 795
gian and felt himself quite out of his depth in controversies about the 'grand Dogma'. Nor was it otherwise with the majority of his contemporaries: "From a Native Greek or Easterling", writes Covel, "who never was out of his country, (though he was there a Man of some Dignity) I never coulld meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of this point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters, desiring rather to be quiet and not to embarrass themselves about these, *φρικτὰ μυστήρια* (as they called them) dreadfull or hidden mysteries."

For all his want of book-learning, however, the bishop's instincts were sound. In transcribing Chrysostom and Basil ("a copie . . . badly spelt and badly accented", says Humfrey Wanley) rather than hazarding a personal opinion, he and Gennadius were appealing not to the private views of two theologians, but to the common faith of all Orthodox Christians; Chrysostom and Basil did but bear witness to this common tradition.

From the day when darkness fell upon the empire of Constantine
down to our own time, the Greek Christian has held fast with remark- 788
able tenacity to the faith committed to his charge. He has, for the most 779
part, been little capable of expounding this faith—certainly not in a 178
manner likely to carry conviction with the western theologian. Neverthe- 795
less, throughout the dark night of Turkish dominion he has continued to cling at any rate to the outward forms of sound doctrine, and to live to the best of his power in the liturgical tradition inherited from an earlier and more creative epoch. This was no time for unprofitable speculation and the subtleties of the vanished schools, but for striving to preserve the royal treasure entrusted to his keeping.

Now, in our own day, the faithfulness with which through long 795
centuries of oppression a host of unremembered parish priests and simple Christians held fast the traditions of the fathers is beginning to bear fruit. The Greek theologian, furnished once more with a scientific equipment not inferior to that of his western colleague, is rediscovering the marvellous riches of the incomparable treasure locked away these many centuries, and entering into his proper heritage. Unlike the Russian theologian of the diaspora—upon whom enforced contact with western ways of thought has already acted as a powerful stimulus—the

6: McNeill
178

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[For a discussion of culture change in six rural villages see category 116, pp. 85-115 and 120-146.]

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing
what they could produce in the immediate locality
with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of population
[312] in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in
summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were
known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until
DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very
large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill
valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease
when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On
433 the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were
driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks,
many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came
from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed
to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from
Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople
and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however satisfying
178 to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord
with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

[Village Life]

large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant 361
farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little 166
outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the 464
plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less 178
and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between 433
hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, 167
especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a 464
geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from 178
home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek 433
emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned.
As a result, even today when an American arrives in one [191]
of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration [648]
which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

[Village Life]

433

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
●178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest develop-
[166] ment of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their tradi-
tional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas
attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie
which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of
young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

[Town Life]

369

437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise
he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
● [178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are
still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
[427]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578 of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669 day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of [178] the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the balance 669 turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of [703] the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669 munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by finan- 648 cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

[P. 176]

CHAPTER 5

PUBLIC LIFE

Public Administration

647 178 A leading official of the American economic mission in Greece said to me, when I asked about the efficiency of Greek administration: "We got absolutely nowhere trying to improve the civil service. It's the same as ever; but then, if all those people were not drawing government salaries, they would be on relief, so perhaps it doesn't make very much difference." The young man had been in Greece for a little more than a year, and during that time it was perhaps true that no very perceptible changes had come to the Greek administrative machine. Over a longer pe-

riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change. 647 178

Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided. 647 178 433 177

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners – mostly American and British – had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
[433 tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Grek hands.

178] Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

times of high ability and energy, many of them well at home in the language of post-Keynesian economics. A national statistical service was organized to provide them with data for their calculations; and innumerable plans and surveys were made, priorities agreed upon, and projects for future expansion worked out in varying degrees of detail. 647 433 178

Two aims dominated most of the planning of these men. One was to improve the country's balance of payments, partly by producing goods domestically that had hitherto been imported, and partly by developing new exports (especially minerals) or enlarging old ones. The second general aim was to expand employment. Military considerations figured only indirectly in their calculations, and helping political and personal friends or penalizing opponents played almost no role at all. This was a great departure, for in the prewar years, whatever economic planning the Greek government had undertaken was heavily colored by these calculations, and paid little attention to broader aims which were assumed to be beyond deliberate manipulation. [661]

Conversations with representatives of this rising group of civil servants gave me the impression that they were more buoyantly optimistic about the future of Greece than the American economists in the aid mission. Greek economic planners were not much inclined to worry about inflation and disbalanced government budgets: they wanted to see new dams, irrigation canals, factories and mines, and felt that if inflation was the easiest way to finance the internal costs of such construction, then inflation was preferable to standing still and waiting until private savings or a government surplus was on hand to pay for the new investment. I also gained the impression that they felt themselves embarked upon a new adventure: striving for conscious management of the direction and pace of economic growth on a nation-wide basis. Moreover, they found

647 433 178 the game of manipulating the levers from behind the scenes a fascinating and entirely absorbing enterprise – advising ministers, talking back to the Americans, and, as they hoped, saving their country from age-old poverty and hopelessness.

Whether their optimism was well founded, and whether or not the priorities the Greeks have decided upon are the best, seem to me a good deal less important than the fact that such a spirit was abroad at all. Mistakes have been made, and will almost surely be made in the future; but the great mistake which paralyzed the government of Greece in the first postwar years – the mistake of not knowing what to do, of having no policy but one of inaction, of waiting for things to pick up by themselves – this mistake at least will not be made as long as the new generation of civil servants remains as a leaven in the economic ministries, and ministers accept their advice. This is a great change from 1945 or 1946, one for which the American economic mission can take a major share of the credit.

647 178 The transformation of the upper ranges of the bureaucracy in the central ministries in Athens was only faintly reflected in the lower ranks in 1956. In general, a petty official sitting behind his desk continued to exhibit a displeasing servility toward his superiors (at least to their faces) and a corresponding hauteur in dealing with mere members of the public. The besetting weakness of Greek administration has been the unwillingness of superiors to delegate much responsibility to their subordinates, and this feature seemed as strong as ever. Busywork, created by passing papers over a long series of desks for approval or initialing, up and again down the hierarchy of rank, was a feature of many government offices, so much so that it was hard not to believe that official routings had been designed to keep a lot of people occupied rather than to get decisions made. It was this feature of Greek administration that the

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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he declared that nothing had changed in the civil service. 178

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed as representatives of authority and power, they frequently seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted. 647 661

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, someone with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks. 647 662 [609]

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone

with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly 647
effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the 663
American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for [177]
American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the [654]
agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural
agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists
had been sent to study in America before receiving
their appointments. The public health agencies were another [657]
branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service
had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general,
it was the older departments of the government, and particularly
those concerned with money and taxes, in which the
unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally
established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced 178
highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration 631
of local government. During the war and afterward, 621
until 1951, local government officials were appointed 647
through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections 666
were organized, partly at least in response to repeated
urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; 621
but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 631
1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, 178
the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence
of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

621 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest
631 as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon
178 his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the
people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a
631 chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds,
652 and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration
without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or
651 on one of the central ministries for finding money for any im-
652 portant project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their
178 local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon
631 goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long
lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

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[633]
[365]
[1] The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

Ernestine Friedl*

Introduction

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758
[178]
[844]

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

[489]

Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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[1] This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout. [122]

[2] Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250. [113]

[3] William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim;* Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

[p. 24(A)]

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external 178 ●
and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village 361
was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a 367
war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many [211]
shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole
park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become [883]
now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees 178
were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work [312]
brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A
large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more
smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to [103]
the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed
its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big [527]
Fountain). [342]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses
with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The [247]
whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western [621]
part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes 167
for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the 342
fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving 722
them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided
to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made 511
out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than
$18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses [435]
to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to
destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last
remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to
know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian
family can carry everything they have on their backs. They
simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most
essential.

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to anyone [425]
else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [178]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [621]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is prohibitive [582]
among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the members
of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its importance
as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differentiating
nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/21 cont./ The
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 443
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 437
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they 433
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [872]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance [602]
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 582
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 883
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 583
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 286
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it 294
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married [581]
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a 842
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do [521]
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/23 cont./
more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626 832]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their 584
love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at 178
which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together [241]
and when returning home late in the evening both boys [476]
and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express
their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the [533]
proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away [832]
with it is to decide to run away with the girl. [583]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the [369]
village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to
the village and the influence of city life. Another important 178
factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor 464
that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco
and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some [249]
seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor.
These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high [291]
heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of [535]
these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but
their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The [623]
priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard
to drive them away but all in vain.

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution 178
to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young
men will help each other in running away with their girls. A 583
group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of harvest [543]
season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and relatives
in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilometers.
The above shows the extensive travelling the men do [178]
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new improved
methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of community
interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is anything 744
which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and intestinal
diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. [165]
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazingly
larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was convinced 744
of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654]

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best 758
medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the 759
doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people [178] ●
follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected
hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants [743]
of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he
usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors.

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the 758
village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. 362
The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds
of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it
harder yet to care for the sick.

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of 758
neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties
help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other 476
food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this 621
people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively
in their grief and sorrow.

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform 755
certain magical performances that convince the people of
their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of
Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit
them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with [842]
defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the
answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers.

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; 755
a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably
for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled 782
are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill 776
up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church [793]
for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint.
Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, [787]
are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly
local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]
Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 515
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their 184
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [851]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger [178]
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would [164]
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not 759
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him.
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' ap- 594
proval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind
of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how
severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years
were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons
was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire
which was put to them to find out what they would like to
learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work
and very little class work. Each student, besides following the
different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a
cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The
project is based on some common but unknown factor that the
students try to investigate. Special committees from among the
group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to
every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of
each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions
under which the project was conducted. At the end of the
project year, each student receives his share of income according
to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 476
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 242
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better 874

/73 cont./ 178 ●
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family
life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help
but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work.
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 476
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built 621
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [345]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [533]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [735]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [314]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village
planted a tree on the hill. [185]

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable [526]
gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

/75 cont./
to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given 873
to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter [544]
months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. [242]
A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village [793]
on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and in-
ventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance
to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous 789
activities of an educational character that have been established
there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside [178]
old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain
people in the village have power to command the spirits and per-
form miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does [832]
not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and
their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of [484]
the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are
asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman [843]
desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians
to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role [791]
of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same [759]
women may act as mid-wives, too.

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are 777
believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a
bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think
the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean
somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the [763]
eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom 353
he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 778
776

8:Stephanides--55 I,Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/86 cont./ [Caucasus]

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178] ●

/87 cont./ 181
621 impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. [167] The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

621 Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material 178 ● to improve the new village, while the other group could 241 do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

621 Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. 476 The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. [533] The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world [152] how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [574]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [484]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either [178]
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea,
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most [437]
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

/100 cont./
of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities. 156 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

/102/ 621

4. The different organizations are a part of the people. Nothing is introduced by outsiders nor advocated by any one person, but through centuries have become an accepted principle of their community life to watch their community improve from all around. 476 178

Conclusions to be drawn from the village of Megali Vrisi. 621

1. The new village has two distinct type of people with their pattern of customs. 105

2. The Government's attempt to mould the customs of these groups into one may face difficulties at the beginning.

3. Both groups semi-primitive in the sense of having:

   a. Patriarchal pattern type of family.
   b. Father having the buying and selling
   c. Both women and children doing farm work, unending toil of women.
   d. Education or training rests with the grandparents.
   e. Agriculture for making a living
   /103/ f. Common land and pasture; no ownership.
   g. Lack of knowledge of fertilizers.
   h. Magic strongly believed by both groups.
   i. Purpose of marriage was to have the labor of women and for raising children.
   j. Land divided in many patches and scattered.
   k. The "Gerousia" as the only powerful and effective group in community government.
   l. Religion of paganistic type.
   m. Business in its primitive form of exchanging goods.
   n. Mutual aid very characteristic.

The low cash income, backward farm techniques, with too much emphasis on the subsidized wheat crop, poor housing and household equipment, inadequately balanced diet, disregard of proper sanitation and other preventive measures against disease, inadequate medical attention, absence of recreational opportunities, impractical religion, slow educational processes without vital

311 The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put
[773] the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different
countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his
shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous,
[133] precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute
[131] the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and
[161] pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according
to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture,
and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition,
as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical
change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the
167 problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out
168 her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of
this century, emigration to the United States provided the main
solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined
to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a
law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited
drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the
country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased
the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth.
Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an
annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming
161 and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population,
even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at
177 the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to
the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful
one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning
of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction
of change into this culture.

121 We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes
of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

● 178 Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades
now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs
177 effected profound and permeating change in village communities
[642] which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer
[631] spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher,
on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on
[875] his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After
the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East
Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook
to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of
living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

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[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In 178
the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by 177
fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were
accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack
of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction [727]
and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War
Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have
all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who 184
came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called 177
"old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different 369
from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not
for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of [262]
foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed
foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in [192]
their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using
clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, [805]
adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective
external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-
patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here [544]
on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition.
In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with
Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There [575]
are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and
the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and
hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go [484]
to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative
or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches
its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants,
who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The 184
mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coast- 186
wise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the ex- [487]
treme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous
variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be
a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or
an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which
he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other
villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani,
have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from
one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as
queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is
good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be
individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The 184
Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 369
805

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
577 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
722 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression
to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

● 178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
577 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care
of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative
communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed 164
gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors 759
in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village 562
image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much 554
freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician.
There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many [831]
women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance
of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the
reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, 732
blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even
jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is
therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete.
Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability
to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from [581]
marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect,
and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people
are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA
one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he
could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted
on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the
Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through 178
lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the 744
energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT [164]
campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware [513]
of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer
nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds
were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and
has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes,
since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and 751
health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a 515
matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is
a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing
underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face
and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the 514
situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported
that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a com- 264
munion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special 594

262 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages
369 were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not
262 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the pro-
785 vinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many
796 of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the
[177] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

262 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential
511 for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set
[746] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want
185 is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has
[196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others.* And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience 178 is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external 185 limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform.

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in industrialization 178 in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not [25] deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations.

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success [744] of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration.

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential;
849 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre-
[195] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that
Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to
remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the
[854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like
Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem-
178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation-
577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attach-
ment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be
in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There
[312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water
[365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive
their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to build a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

178 The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse.

178 203 831 It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions.

178 184 There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, [789] late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future.

178 476 One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings.

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 577 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [872] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [577] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

177 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is 178 pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there 476 is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups [664] created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the 178 last century. But later, the central government began to institute 474 co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing 476 units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural [652] Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the 178 attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most 474 cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation 476 has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are 829 circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

178 taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting
474 of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its
476 organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to
829 turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for
themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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